

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 02647 01 OF 02 291524Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----291528Z 125159 /40

O R 291415Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7681
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 2647

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, RH
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP CONVERSATIONS
IN SALISBURY

THIS SUMMARY AND THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM REPORTING OUR
CONVERSATION WITH SMITH ARE BEING TRANSMITTED FROM PRETORIA
DURING OUR BRIEF STOPOVER BEFORE HEADING FOR MAPUTO. I
WILL SEND DETAILED REPORTS OF CONVERSATIONS ON OUR RETURN
TO LUSAKA MONDAY.

1. WE SAW SMITH AT THE COMPLETION OF TWO DAYS TALKS WITH
GAYLARD AND HIS GROUP LATE FRIDAY AFTERNOON. SMITH LOOKED
WEARY AND SOMEWHAT DISINTERESTED AS HE GREETED US FROM BEHIND
HIS DESK. GRAHAM BRIEFED HIM ON THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS SINCE
THE TALKS WITH OWEN. HE NOTED CLOSE US/UK COOPERATION AND
OUR PROPOSED METHOD OF OPERATION VIA BILATERAL TALKS WHICH
COULD BUILD TO AN EVENTUAL CONFERENCE. HE MENTIONED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 02647 01 OF 02 291524Z

OBJECTION TO US PARTICIPATION BUT NOTED THAT IT WAS THE
INTENTION OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE COOPERATING
CLOSELY WITHOUT CONFRONTING THE NATIONALISTS ON THIS ISSUE.
HE DESCRIBED THE MEETINGS WITH SITHOLE, NKOMO, MUZOREWA
AND EFFORTS TO SEE MUGABE BEFORE COMING TO SALISBURY,
AND HE REVIEWED THE BASIS ON WHICH WE WERE CONDUCTING THE
DISCUSSIONS TO DRAW UP A CONSTITUTION WRITTEN AROUND

DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE OR SOMETHING VERY CLOSE TO IT, AND A BILL OF RIGHTS WHICH WAS JUSTICIABLE AND ENTRENCHED.

2. SMITH REPLIED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A SHORT REPORT ON THE DISCUSSIONS THURSDAY NIGHT FROM GAYLARD BUT HE WAS UNAWARE OF OUR MEETINGS ON FRIDAY. HE SAID HIS PRIMARY CONCERN WAS TO PRESERVE LAW AND ORDER AND PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT WHICH COULD COMMEND ITSELF TO THE MAJORITY OF WHITES IN RHODESIA IN TERMS OF CONVINCING THEM TO REMAIN. AFTER HAVING STRUGGLED SO LONG HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO GO TO THEM WITH ANYTHING THAT COULD BE DESCRIBED AS A SELL-OUT. SOME HAD ACCUSED HIM OF HAVING DONE THIS AT THE TIME HE ACCEPTED THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS BUT IT WAS NOT TRUE. HE HAD NOT SOLD OUT AT ALL BUT MAINTAINED QUITE ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS AND PROTECTIONS. FRANKLY, HE SAID, THE UNDERSTANDING HE GOT FROM GAYLARD WAS THAT WHAT WE WERE TALKING ABOUT AMOUNTED TO ABANDONMENT OF HIS RESPONSIBILITIES-A SELLOUT. HE WANTED US TO BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THESE KINDS OF PROPOSALS WERE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM OR THE WHITE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA. ONE MAN, ONE VOTE HAD BROUGHT DICTATORSHIPS AND DISASTER TO THE REST OF AFRICA AND HE DID NOT INTEND TO SEE IT DO THE SAME THING IN RHODESIA. HE QUOTED AFRICANS AND WHITES WITH WHOM HE HAD SPOKEN WHO BEGGED HIM NOT TO GIVE IN TO ANY SUCH SCHEME. HE RECOGNISED THAT PEOPLE LIKE SOME OF MUZOREWA'S AND CHINAMANO'S FOLLOWERS, WHO HAD EXPRESSED THEIR OPPOSITION TO ONE MAN ONE VOTE TO HIM, MIGHT BE SAYING SOMETHING DIFFERENT TO US, BUT HE KNEW AFRICANS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 02647 01 OF 02 291524Z

AND THEY WERE TERRIBLY FRIGHTENED OF SUCH A CONCEPT. THE WHITE MAY BE ABLE TO ESCAPE SOUTH OF THE LIMPOPO BUT THE MODERATE AFRICANS HAD NO PLACE TO GO. FURTHERMORE HIS SECURITY REPORTS INDICATED CLEARLY THAT THE NATIONALISTS WERE "MAKING A GOOD THING OF IT" AND HAD NO EXPECTATION OF GETTING ALL THEY WERE ASKING FOR.

3. GRAHAM BROUGHT UP THE CONVERSATION WITH OWEN WHO HAD MADE CLEAR THAT SOMETHING LIKE ONE MAN, ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE WOULD BE NEEDED AND SMITH HAD REPLIED THAT WAS A MATTER FOR THE COMMITTEES TO CONSIDER. SMITH DISPUTED THAT THAT HAD BEEN HIS RESPONSE BUT DROPPED THE MATTER REPEATING THAT "ONEMAN, ONE VOTE, ONCE" WAS ANATHEMA TO HIM AND ALWAYS HAD BEEN. AGAIN HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE DID NOT WANT US TO GO BACK WITH ANY MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT WHAT HIS POSITION WAS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 02647 02 OF 02 291524Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----291528Z 125161 /40

O R 291415Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7682
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 2647

EXDIS

4. I REVIEWED BRIEFLY THE US/UK COOPERATION IN THE CON-
CEPT OF THE INITIATIVE, OUR SUPPORT AT ALL LEVELS FOR THE
BRITISH, AND OUR DEDICATION TO THE BASIC PRICIPLES
WHICH GRAHAM HAD OUTLINED. I SAID WE WERE NO LESS INTERESTED
IN AN ORDERLY TRANSITION AND THE PRESERVATION OF LAW AND ORDER
IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, AND THAT IT WAS THIS WHICH LED
US TO WANT TO PURSUE THE NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED THAT WE
COULD COME UP WITH SOMETHING WHICH WAS ACCEPTABLE NOT ONLY
TO WHITE RHODESIANS AND NATIONALISTS BUT TO THE FRONT LINE,
AMERICANS AND BRITISH. IF THIS WAS POSSIBLE WE WERE
PREPARED TO TRY TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO URGE A SETTLEMENT
WHICH COULD BRING AN END TO HOSTILITIES, BUT WE COULD NOT
DO THIS WITH ANYTHING LESS THAN THE KIND OF THING WE WERE
DESCRIBING. GRAHAM REINFORCED THE UK'S STONG FEELING
THAT THESE PRINCIPLES WERE MINIMUM ACCEPTABLE
TO THE NATIONALISTS, THE US, AND UK AND ADDED HIS OWN FEEL-
ING THAT ANYTHING LESS THAN THIS, EVEN IF IT WERE ACCEPTED,
COULD NOT LAST IN AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY BEFORE UNCONSTI-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 02647 02 OF 02 291524Z

TUTIONAL MEANS WERE TAKEN TO MODIFY IT, THAT IS A COUP
DETAT. SMITH AGAIN INSISTED THAT THESE KIND OF THINGS

WERE UNACCEPTABLE.

5. I SAID THAT HISTORICALLY AROUND THE WORLD, VERY RESTRICTED ELECTORATES BASED ON THE SEMI-EDUCATED AND SLIGHTLY BETTER OFF GROUPS DID NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO STABILITY. IT WAS OFTEN THE CASE THAT THE LESS EDUCATED RURAL POPULATIONS RETAINED THEIR POLITICAL JUDGMENT AND OFTEN PROVIDED STABILITY. I NOTED THAT I FELT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR AMERICAN PARTICULARLY AND MUCH OF THE REST OF THE WORLD MORE BROADLY TO ACCEPT THAT MAJORITY RULE MEANT 11 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL ADULT POPULATION. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT BY ACCEPTING A BROAD FRANCHISE SMITH WOULD BE GAINING CREDIBILITY INTERNATIONALLY WITHOUT SACRIFICING STABILITY IN A FUTURE INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAD CONSIDERED THIS POINT AND AS A MATTER OF FACT IT HAD BEEN URGED ON HIM BY THE ZUPO PEOPLE WHOM, HE ADDED PARENTHETICALLY, WE DON'T SEEM TO THINK MUCH OF. THE SAID THAT THE TRIBAL PEOPLE SHOULD BE PERMITTED A BROADER PARTICIPATION. HE COULD UNDERSTAND THIS AND HE WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER A BROADER PACKAGE IF THE WHOLE THING WAS ACCEPTABLE AND IF HE COULD GO TO HIS WHITE CONSTITUENTS AND SAY THAT THERE WAS A SENSIBLE STRUCTURE WHICH CONTAINED ADEQUATE BLODGING MECHANISMS AND OTHER PROVISIONS. IF, EVEN THOUGH IT WAS BASED ON ONE MAN ONE VOTE, IT ASSURED STABILITY, HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY IT. HE SAID THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS AND HE WISHED US LUCK. IF WE COULD COME UP WITH SOMETHING THAT WAS ACCEPTABLE HE WOULD BE DELIGHTED. I NOTED THAT WE HAD BEEN WARNED BY MANY THAT THERE WAS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT AND WE FELT WE SHOULD MOVE ON AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. SMITH SAID WE WOULD FIND HIM WILLING TO WORK AS HARD AS ANYONE. HIS GROUP WAS PREPARED TO TALK TO US DAY AND NIGHT FOR TWO WEEKS IF THAT WAS WHAT WE WANTED, AND HE NOTED THAT HE WANTED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 02647 02 OF 02 291524Z

NOTHING MORE THAN A SETTLEMENT. HE WAS TIRED OF THE WHOLE BUSINESS. THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE SAYING THAT THE MATTER COULD BE RESOLVED IF HE WOULD RESIGN. THIS WOULD BE FINE BY HIM BUT HIS CABINET, MODERATES AND ALL, INSISTS HE STAY AND FINISH THE JOB. WHEN A SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED HE WOULD LEAVE. HE WOULD LOVE TO GET BACK TO HIS FARM AND BE DONE WITH POLITICS AND HE CERTAINLY DID NOT ENJOY THE PRESENT MESS IN WHICH THINGS WERE. SO HE URGED US TO CONTINUE OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND SEE WHAT COULD BE PRODUCED. WE PARTED ON THIS BASIS. BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INFORMATION CONTROL, NEGOTIATIONS, NATIONALISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR02647
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770192-0746
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977055/aaaaaebh.tel
Line Count: 220
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: f68c3d92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2492115
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUMMARY OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP CONVERSATIONS IN SALISBURY THIS SUMMARY AND THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM REPORTING
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, RH, (SMITH, IAN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f68c3d92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009